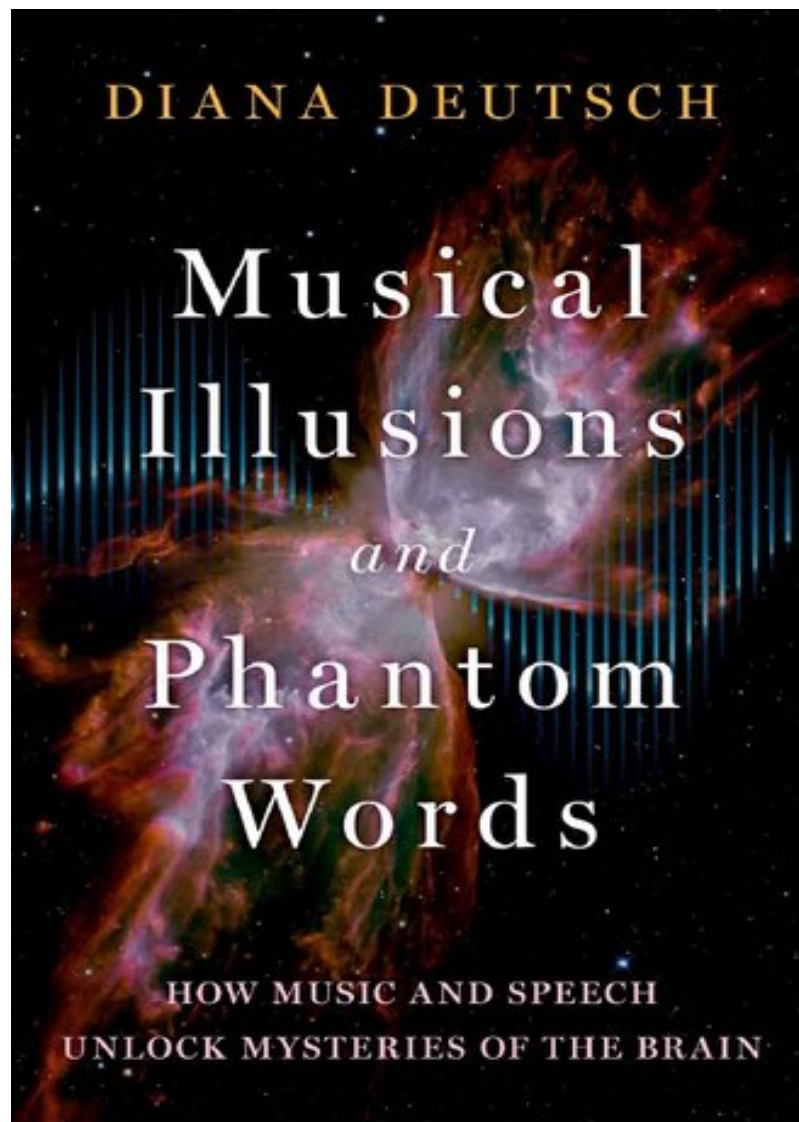


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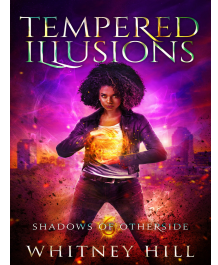


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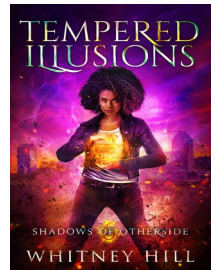
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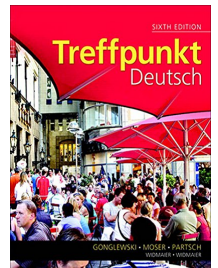
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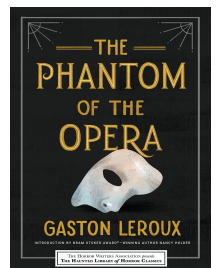
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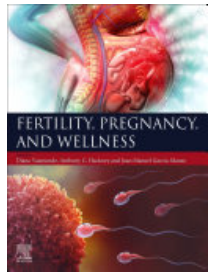
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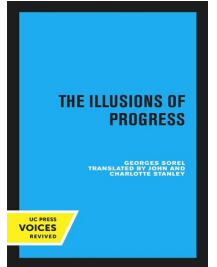
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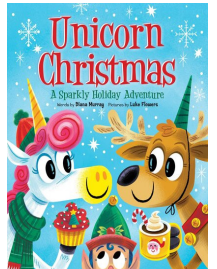
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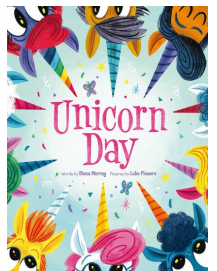
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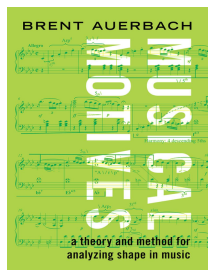
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DIANA DEUTSCH

Musical
Illusions
and
Phantom
Words

HOW MUSIC AND SPEECH
UNLOCK MYSTERIES OF THE BRAIN

Advance Praise for *Musical Illusions and Phantom Words*

"This is a remarkable book by an unassailable grand master of sound perception and auditory illusions. The text is very clear and very lively. Finally a book on sound perception has the sounds right on the pages! Point your phone, hear the sounds, it's that easy. Not only the sounds, but explanations from the author in her own voice. I settled in and felt like I was having a conversation with her. Deutsch is a keen and careful scholar, yet manages to make the pages incredibly entertaining. When one reads this book, one realizes that Prof. Deutsch didn't 'get lucky' when she discovered her well-known illusions. There is a program, guided by deep knowledge and intuition. She shares both with us in this wonderful book."

—ERIC J. HELLER, Abbott and James Lawrence Professor
of Chemistry, and Professor of Physics, Harvard University,
author of *Why You Hear What You Hear*

"In this delightful volume Diana Deutsch, a living legend in the field of music psychology, invites us into her laboratory. There, with the help of web-based audio files, we can listen in as she tricks our hearing into revealing some of the inner workings of the human auditory system. Dozens of these musical illusions help us to understand the complexity and marvelous sophistication of how we uncover patterns and meanings in the sounds that we hear."

—ROBERT O. GJERDINGEN, Professor of Music, Northwestern
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"Diana Deutsch is a true pioneer. In this finely written and yet seriously scientific book, she tells the story of how she discovered phantasms that to our ears are as miraculous as a Fata Morgana is to our eyes. Read and wonder!"

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the Arts, Berlin, author of *The Science of Happiness*

"It is a great pleasure to have Diana Deutsch's pioneering work on auditory illusions and her landmark explorations of the influence of language on music perception brought together in the summation of a stellar career that has profoundly influenced the field of music psychology and cognition. The underlying thread throughout the book is the extraordinary complexity of the auditory system and the wide range of individual differences among listeners."

—JONATHAN BERGER, Denning Family Provostial Professor
in Music, Stanford University

"Diana Deutsch's pioneering work on auditory illusions opened up a crack through which music and speech perception could be understood in new ways. This engaging volume, laced with anecdotes and firsthand accounts, should pique anyone's curiosity about how the mind hears."

—ELIZABETH HELLMUTH MARGULIS, Professor, Princeton University

“Dr. Deutsch has been one of the world’s leading researchers of the psychology of music for over four decades. This book is the culmination of her stellar career of intriguing observations gleaned from her innovative investigative techniques. Her contributions to the field are on par with Oliver Sacks, Roger Shepard, and Jean-Claude Risset. Dr. Deutsch’s rigorous yet charming style makes *Musical Illusions and Phantom Words* equal parts illuminating and fun.”

—MICHAEL A. LEVINE is a composer for film, television, records, and games, as well as a concert music and musical theater composer. He has won eight ASCAP awards and was a Governor of the Television Academy (Emmys). He scored the CBS drama *Cold Case*, wrote the Spider Pig choir arrangement for *The Simpsons Movie*, produced Lorde’s version of “Everybody Wants to Rule the World,” composed the world’s first pedal steel guitar concerto, and the Kit Kat “Gimme A Break” jingle.

“The Yanny-Laurel meme and other audio illusions actually say quite a bit about the perception of music and speech and the organization of the human brain. Diana Deutsch, the world’s foremost expert on these fascinating ‘perceptual anomalies,’ makes compelling arguments for a variety of issues, such as that music and speech originated from a protolanguage; that our past experience unconsciously affects what we hear; that music theory can now be put to experimental tests. She has shown that absolute pitch, once thought to be completely hereditary and extremely rare, is not at all unusual among musicians in China, where a tone language is spoken. Anyone who has been mesmerized by Necker cubes and Escher prints will find this book engrossing and entertaining—it is a mind-expanding, ear-opening tour de force.”

—PHILIP YAM, Science Editor and former Online Managing Editor
for *Scientific American Magazine*

“From her early pioneering work to the present day, Diana’s fascinating work and observations on music have captured our imagination and inspired generations of researchers. In this remarkably accessible and deeply engaging book, she expounds upon some of her most intriguing work on the varieties of illusions that arise in music and language, and what they tell us about the mind. This is a world where distinct melodies are heard in the two ears, even though only one was presented, where musicians suddenly experience auditory hallucinations of their own music, and where speech is mysteriously transformed into song. Captivating and profound, Diana Deutsch’s book will be delight not only to researchers, but to anyone who is curious about the human mind.”

—WILLIAM FORDE THOMPSON, author of *Music, Thought and Feeling: Understanding the Psychology of Music*

MUSICAL ILLUSIONS AND PHANTOM WORDS



Musical Illusions and Phantom Words

HOW MUSIC AND SPEECH UNLOCK MYSTERIES
OF THE BRAIN

Diana Deutsch



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To my husband
J. ANTHONY DEUTSCH
In loving memory



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Acknowledgments



OVER THE YEARS I have had the good fortune of discussing the issues explored in this book with many people. It would be impossible to name them all without turning this into a roll call, but I should mention that I have drawn inspiration from several groups of colleagues.

Those whom I met frequently at meetings of the Acoustical Society of America and the Audio Engineering Society, in particular John Pierce, Johan Sundberg, William Hartmann, Manfred Schroeder, Ernst Terhardt, Adrian Houtsma, Arthur Benade, and Laurent Demany, discussed the topics in this book with me from an acoustical perspective.

A remarkable interdisciplinary group of scientists, musicians, and technologists attended a series of workshops on the Physical and Neuropsychological Foundations of Music, which was convened in the 1980s by the physicist Juan Roederer in Ossiach, Austria, and here we formed lifelong friendships, and initiated the exchange of many ideas. Among those who attended the workshops, and others whom I met at the time, were the musicians Leonard Meyer, Fred Lerdahl, Eugene Narmour, Robert Gjerdingen, and David Butler; the physicists and engineers Reinier Plomp and Leon Van Noorden; and the psychologists David Wessel, Stephen McAdams, John Sloboda, Albert Bregman, Jamshed Bharucha, Richard Warren, W. Jay Dowling, Carol Krumhansl, Isabelle Peretz, William Forde Thompson, and W. Dixon Ward.

Later, together with Edward Carterette and Kengo Ohgushi, I founded the biennial series, the International Conference on Music Perception and Cognition. The first of these conferences was held in Tokyo in 1999, and it was there that I first met my friends and colleagues Yoshitaka Nakajima and Ken-ichi Miyazaki.

At that time I also had the pleasure of many discussions with Francis Crick, who was turning his attention to the study of perception. His office was at the Salk Institute, across from me at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD). He was fascinated by illusions, and on several occasions brought visitors over to my lab to listen to mine. I also had many fruitful discussions with the neurologist Norman Geschwind, who was especially interested in exploring the neurological underpinnings of the octave illusion.

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Finally, I am grateful beyond words to my husband, J. Anthony Deutsch, whose support and feedback on my work over the years have been invaluable. It is to Tony's memory that I dedicate this book.

About the Author



DIANA DEUTSCH IS a British-American psychologist, born in London, England. She is Professor of Psychology at the University of California, San Diego, and is one of the world's leading researchers on the psychology of music. Deutsch is widely known for the illusions of music and speech that she has discovered; these include the *octave illusion*, the *scale illusion*, the *chromatic illusion*, the *glissando illusion*, the *cambiata illusion*, the *tritone paradox*, the *phantom words illusion*, the *mysterious melody illusion*, and the *speech-to-song illusion*, among others. She is also widely known for her work on absolute pitch, or perfect pitch, which she has shown to be far more prevalent among speakers of tone language. In addition, she studies the cognitive foundation of musical grammars, the ways in which people hold musical pitches in memory, and the ways in which people relate the sounds of music and speech to each other. Her many publications include articles in *Science*, *Nature*, and *Scientific American*. She is author of the book *The Psychology of Music* (1st edition, 1982; 2nd edition, 1999; 3rd edition, 2013), and of the compact discs *Musical Illusions and Paradoxes* (1995) and *Phantom Words and Other Curiosities* (2003).

Deutsch's work is often featured in newspapers and magazines worldwide; these include *Scientific American*, *New Scientist*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *U.S. News and World Report*, the *Globe and Mail*, the *Guardian*, *Huffington Post*, the *Telegraph*, *National Geographic*, *Pour la Science* (France), *Die Zeit* (Germany), *Der Spiegel* (Germany), *Die Welt* (Germany), *Forskning* (Norway), *NZZ am Sonntag*

(Switzerland), and many others. She has given many public lectures, for example, at the Kennedy Center for Performing Arts in Washington, DC, The Exploratorium in San Francisco, the Fleet Science Center in San Diego, the Institut de Recherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique (Centre Georges Pompidou) in Paris, the Vienna Music Festival, the Festival of Two Worlds in Spoleto, Italy, and the Royal Swedish Academy of Music in Stockholm, Sweden. She is frequently interviewed on radio, such as by NPR (including *Radiolab*), NBC, BBC, CBC, ABC, German Public Radio, Radio France, Italian Public Radio (RAI), and Austrian Public Radio. She has appeared on television episodes of *NOVA*, *Redes* (Spain), and the Discovery Channel, among others. Her illusions have been exhibited in numerous museums and festivals, such as the Exploratorium, the Museum of Science (Boston), the Denver Museum of Nature & Science, the Franklin Institute (Philadelphia), the USA Science & Engineering Festival (Washington, DC), the Edinburgh International Science Festival, and other venues worldwide.

Among her many honors, Deutsch has been elected a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Acoustical Society of America, the Audio Engineering Society, the Society of Experimental Psychologists, the Association for Psychological Science, the Psychonomic Society, and four divisions of the American Psychological Association: Division 1 (Society for General Psychology), Division 3 (Society for Experimental Psychology and Cognitive Science), Division 10 (Society for the Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity and the Arts) and Division 21 (Applied Experimental and Engineering Psychology). She has served as Governor of the Audio Engineering Society, as Chair of the Section on Psychology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, as President of Division 10 of the American Psychological Association, and as Chair of the Society of Experimental Psychologists. She was awarded the Rudolf Arnheim Award for “Outstanding Achievement in Psychology and the Arts” by the American Psychological Association, the Gustav Theodor Fechner Award for “Outstanding Contributions to Empirical Aesthetics” by the International Association of Empirical Aesthetics, the Science Writing Award for Professionals in Acoustics by the Acoustical Society of America, and the Gold Medal Award for “Lifelong Contributions to the Understanding of the Human Hearing Mechanism and the Science of Psychoacoustics” by the Audio Engineering Society.

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inferiority of numbers, was an important stroke; but his taking by storm such a place as Masulipatam, with a garrison within superior to the force which attacked it, is what we seldom hear of in these our modern times.

"I cannot add much to what has been represented to you in our general letter; only let me beg of you not to neglect the affairs of the Deckan; they are of great importance, and I know the gentlemen at home think them so. Besides, we never could be safe in Bengal, while the enemy is so near at hand, and a strong squadron, which may give ours the slip, and co-operate with them. If Colonel Forde had left Masulipatam with only a garrison of five hundred sepoys, and it had been afterwards lost (which I really believe would have been the case), what a load of disgrace would have fallen upon us, for putting the Company to so great an expense, and for losing all the fruits of our eminent successes in these parts."

In another letter^[21] upon the same subject to his friend Mr. Vansittart, who was a member of council at Fort St. George, Clive expresses similar sentiments. "The news from the coast," he observes, "this year has been very important and interesting. The defence of Madras will do much honour to our arms in India, and greatly heighten our reputation as soldiers in these parts. I would gladly have given some of my riches to share some of your reputation. I know it has been a conceived opinion among the old soldiers in England, that our exploits in India have been much of the same nature as those of Ferdinando Cortez; but your foiling such a man as M. Lally, and two of the oldest regiments of France, will induce another way of thinking, and add a fresh lustre to all our former victories. Neither do I think Colonel Forde's successes fall short of those of Madras. His victory over the Marquis de Conflans was but one of the many we have gained over our enemies in the like circumstances; but his taking such a place as Masulipatam, with a garrison within superior to the force which attacked it, is, I think, one of those extraordinary actions which we seldom hear of in these modern times, and must gain him great honour when it comes to be

known at home. And now I have said thus much, I cannot help thinking there has not been quite that attention bestowed on the affairs of the Deckan their importance deserves. Much has been risked in not sending Colonel Forde even a small assistance of money, which I think might have been done without greatly distressing yourselves; and still much more in not providing sea conveyances, or timely and sufficient land escorts for the French prisoners.

"This expedition was undertaken more with a view to benefit the coast than Bengal; and most of the Deckan forces would certainly have been at the siege of Madras, if not prevented by the diversion given from hence. Much I fear all our successes in the Deckan would have come to nothing, if Colonel Forde had complied with the late order sent him, of leaving only five hundred sepoy in Masulipatam, and coming, with the rest of the forces, to Madras. Excuse me in thinking the gentlemen in council have had too much at heart the securing to themselves Colonel Forde's detachment, without sufficiently considering the consequences; for I can never be persuaded that the addition of two hundred infantry would either have lost or gained us a battle over M. Lally; but the withdrawing them from the Deckan would certainly have rendered fruitless all that has been done. You will be surprised at hearing the French have landed upwards of five hundred Europeans at Ganjam with M. Moracin; but it is really matter of fact, and has been confirmed to us by no less than forty-seven deserters from thence, most of them English taken at St. David's, and forced into the service. By the latest advices, they were reduced, by death and desertion, to four hundred. I need say no more on this subject, as the board will write very fully on this and other matters of importance."

I shall now shortly refer to the occurrences at Madras, subsequent to the great effort made to restore the British interests in Bengal. It would be as unnecessary as it is foreign to my object to enter into a detail of events which have been minutely described by several able writers; but a general notice of them is required, not only to elucidate the grounds of Clive's conduct, as far as relates to the aid

he gave or refused to Fort St. George, but as it is calculated to exhibit the character of his mind, which, amid all those critical and important events in which he was engaged in Bengal, appears to have dwelt with an earnest fondness upon the scenes of his first efforts, and to have retained the most anxious solicitude for the continued success of those who were the friends of his youth, and his early associates in danger. Absence appears, indeed, to have increased the interest he took in the affairs of the coast of Coromandel; and from the period of his proceeding to Calcutta till his departure for England, no occurrence of any magnitude took place in the Madras Presidency, on which we do not find numerous letters from Clive, which convey his opinion with equal freedom upon the measures of the government, and upon the conduct of individuals.

In 1757, the events of most magnitude on the coast were the capture of Madura by Captain Caillaud^[22], who commanded the British troops south of the Coleroon; and the defeat of a party^[23] which attacked Nellore, where the brother^[24] of the Nabob Mahommed Ali Khan continued in rebellion. The fortress of Chittaput was taken by the French, owing to aid being refused to Nazir Mahommed^[25], the killadar (or governor) who, holding this fortress independent of the Nabob, was an object of jealousy, and he succeeded in instilling into the minds of the English government a belief that the gallant defender of this important post was in league with the French. Succour was delayed till too late. The brave killadar resisted to the last; and, by his death on the breach, silenced his calumniators, and left the rulers of Madras to regret their unfortunate credulity and prejudice.

The capture of Chittaput was followed by the reduction of a number of small fortresses in the Carnatic. The successes of the French in this province balanced those of the English to the southward, where the gallantry and judgment of Captain Caillaud, and the indefatigable activity of Mahommed Esoof^[26], the celebrated commandant of sepoys, supported the cause of the English, and of the Nabob Mahommed Ali, against the French and the rebel

Maphuze Khan. The latter were aided by several polygars, or petty Hindu chiefs, who possess the wild mountainous tracts of this part of India; and who, from the attachment and habits of their rude followers, are the most troublesome of all enemies to the internal peace of the country.

These indecisive operations had no effect beyond keeping up the flame of war between the French and English, through whom every native power in India that they could influence became engaged in hostilities, in which their interests were deemed subordinate to the primary object which the two rival European nations alike cherished, of expelling each other from the eastern hemisphere.

The French government in Europe appear, at this period, to have determined on an effort to reduce the British settlements on the coast of Coromandel; and the armament they prepared seemed adequate to the object. Fortunately for the English, those who presided in the councils of Louis 15th were either so completely ignorant of Indian policy, or so inveterately prejudiced against their East India Company and its servants, as not only to overlook the advantages that these had gained, but to put aside as useless all who were acquainted with the scene, and to substitute a commander and officers, who, whatever experience they might have had in other quarters of the world, were profoundly ignorant of that to which they were sent, with the expressed hope that, while they reformed the gross abuses of the local government, they would restore the tarnished lustre of the French arms.

The bold and extensive, though, perhaps, premature, schemes of Dupleix had, at first, excited great expectations in France; but when, instead of those successes which his sanguine mind had led his government to anticipate, every despatch brought accounts of some failure or disaster, national vanity, combined with prejudice and ignorance, induced the ministers of that country to throw the whole blame on the Company and on the individuals whom they had employed to manage their affairs abroad. Their political and military conduct underwent equal condemnation; their operations in the field

were deemed unskilful, and their connections with native princes, particularly that with the Subah of the Deckan, were pronounced altogether chimerical, and calculated for no object but that of feeding the ambition, or adding to the wealth, of those by whom they were planned or conducted.

Though the form of the local government was not changed, controlling powers were vested in Lieutenant-General Count Lally, who was sent in command of this force, aided by a large staff of officers of high rank and reputation.

The character of Lally, from former services, stood high as a gallant soldier. He was, perhaps, skilled in European warfare, but he was wholly ignorant of the different modes and usages of that science in India; added to which, he was not of a temper to benefit by the experience of others; and his mind appears, before he left France, to have been imbued with the deepest prejudices against his own countrymen in India, as well as the most sovereign contempt for the natives of that country. He was, in consequence, alike indisposed to receive aid from the experience and knowledge of the one, or from the alliance of the other; and evidently expected to subdue all obstacles at the point of the bayonet.

Such was the man whom the French government sent to India. How different was the conduct of the great Chatham! When the troops of his sovereign were ordered to that country to support the national interests, he at once decided^[27] that neither Lawrence nor Clive should be superseded in their command. Had the ministers of France been endowed with his wisdom, and the troops they so judiciously sent to India been placed under Bussy, there is every ground to conclude that the result of the ensuing campaigns would have been very different. But such was the infatuation or prejudice of the French ministers, that Bussy, slighted in the new arrangements, was left, unnoticed and unhonoured, to submit to the commands and bear the insults of an arrogant superior, whose jealousy of his fame and popularity was increased into perfect fury at the attentions shown him by all ranks, and by a memorial from

the six colonels^[28] who had accompanied him from France, praying he would nominate Bussy, yet only a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Brigadier General, that he might command them, and that their sovereign might derive those benefits which were to be expected from his name and experience.

Lally could not refuse compliance with such a request; but he endeavoured, by bitter sarcasms as to their motives, to detract from the just merits of those by whom it was made.

On the same evening that Lally landed with his troops from the fleet of M. D'Aché, he ordered one thousand Europeans and as many sepoys to move towards Fort St. David. They were led astray by their guides, and arrived at the end of their first march, harassed, and without provisions. To supply them, and to enable the remainder of his force to follow, Lally resorted to means which filled the natives with alarm and indignation. He pressed men of all castes and descriptions to carry baggage, and derided the remonstrances of the Company's Governor, M. Deleyrit, who was forced to submit; for, though he and his councils retained their stations, they were placed completely under the control of the Lieutenant-General.

Cuddalore could make no resistance. But a very different result from what occurred was expected from Fort St. David. Its fortifications had been greatly improved, and its garrison was efficient: if it did not repel the assailants, no doubt was entertained but it would, for a considerable period, employ all their means and arrest their operations. But this hope was disappointed, and the place was surrendered before the enemy's works were so advanced as to enable them to storm it. Mr. Call, the chief engineer at Madras, in a letter^[29] to Clive says, that he considers "the place to have been lost rather through want of conduct and proper management, than of bravery or the means of defending it."

Clive, as has been shown in the case of Colonel Forde and others, was warm and even enthusiastic in his encomiums of those who were distinguished in the service of their country. They not only became entitled to his notice in his official capacity, but received

every mark of his private regard; and his utmost efforts were used to promote their advancement. But, on the other hand, he held no terms with any man whom he considered to have failed in this duty. His condemnation of such was undisguised and unqualified. Neither the ties of friendship, the suggestion of self-interest, nor the fear of resentment, had the slightest effect in preventing the open expression of his opinions, when there appeared a dereliction of those principles which he thought should actuate every individual in the public employ.

Many examples will occur to illustrate this part of his character; but none are stronger than we find in the letters he wrote to Madras, upon hearing of the capture of Fort St. David. The thought of the easy triumph of the French on a spot which had been ennobled by so many gallant achievements of the English, pained him (as he states^[30]) to the soul, and he gives full vent to his indignation at those by whom this feeling had been produced. Whatever justice there may be in the sentence he passes on their conduct, the tone of elevated sentiment, and the excellence of the military maxims which we find in these letters, render them very valuable.

In a private letter^[31] to Mr. Pigot, which expresses the deep interest he takes in the affairs of the coast, Clive states concisely, but strongly, his opinion upon the fall of Fort St. David.

"After waiting," he observes, "with much impatience, I have at last received your favour of the 10th of July. Let me request of my friend, if he has too much business upon his hands, that he will order one of his secretaries to write me a few lines, for I am always doubtful of the news I may receive from any other quarter.

"I cannot express to you my resentment and concern at the infamous surrender of St. David. Had there been no powder at all left but for the musketry, where was the excuse for giving up the place till a breach was made, the covered way stormed, and the ditch filled? Were our enemies supplied with wings, that they could fly into the place? I am fully persuaded that, had M. Lally been

obliged to make approaches to the top of the glacis, the climate would have done him more injury than all the powder and ball in the East Indies. I could wish, for the honour and welfare of our nation, that a court-martial would make the severest examples of the guilty in these cases. For the future, I would not leave it in the power of a commanding officer to forfeit his trust, but give him positive orders not to surrender any fort till a breach was made in the body of the place, and one assault at least sustained."

In a letter to Mr. Orme of a similar date^[32], he enters upon the same subject.

"The advices," he observes, "you received of the bad condition of St. David was nothing less than an introduction to the infamous surrender of the place. I know not in what light you gentlemen of Madras may look upon that inglorious transaction: for my part, I have seen the council of war, and, from that only, think the severest example ought to be made of those who have set their hands to that base capitulation.

"They say they had not above three days' powder! Where was the necessity of throwing it so idly away? Had they no bayonets? Or, had they not powder sufficient for small arms? I fondly flattered myself that the hero^[33] at Chittaput would, in some measure, have been an example for us at St. David.

"I must drop this disagreeable subject with the melancholy reflection, that Fort St. David so lost has given us cause to lament the departure of the English reputation on the coast of Coromandel. May our future actions retrieve all!"

In a subsequent part of this letter, Clive gives his opinion, that the enemy should be met in the field; and, if not, he suggests the measures that should be taken to promote the success of defensive operations.

"I do not flatter you," he adds, "in saying, I always had the highest opinion of the strength and activity of your abilities. Let them be exerted in pursuing vigorous measures; for you may

depend upon it, Orme, if these cautious maxims, which seemed to possess the majority of our committee when I was with you, still prevail, we shall entail disgrace upon disgrace on the nation, until we are become the scorn of Hindustan, and have nothing left us without the walls of Madras. I insist upon it, victory will not depend upon the trifling odds of a few; good conduct in the commander, and a determined resolution in the officer and soldier, will make up for the deficiency, and insure victory to the English over M. Lally and his rabble—for I can call them by no other name, since I am well assured the major part of his forces are not much better, being composed chiefly of foreigners and deserters, raised by subscription: possibly, the King may have spared the Company some good officers to head them.

"The China and Bengal ships will bring you a reinforcement of twelve hundred men, which, added to the garrisons of Madras and Trichinopoly, will enable you to take the field with two thousand five hundred men. Our superiority at sea, by the arrival of two seventy-gun ships, and one fifty, will be beyond dispute. Of consequence, we shall have more resources than the French: we may remedy the ill consequences of a check, by having the sea open to us, and the assistance of our squadron. Our enemies cannot say so much, for, if they should be defeated, they must be confined within the walls of Pondicherry, and then their distress for want of money will ruin them, if supplies are not soon received, which cannot be effected without a superior force at sea, of which I see but little probability. In the mean time, we can supply you from hence with every thing you can possibly want. In short, if we look upon ourselves in any shape a match for our enemies in the field, I am fully of opinion a battle should be risked: a victory will be of more consequence than the loss of ten Fort St. Davids. If the old gentleman^[34] take the field, Caillaud should be sent for at all events, and a commission of Major given him that he may act as second.

"Should an offensive war not be thought prudent, I think methods may be pursued which will near ruin the enemy without it. A body of Mahrattas may be taken into pay, which will ravage the country in

such a manner as to prevent the French receiving any revenue from it. This will occasion them to disband their blacks, and their whites will soon disband themselves.

"You are acquainted with the disturbances in Golconda, and the insurrection of the rajahs. I have sent agents there; and you may be assured, if we remain at peace here (as at present there is the greatest prospect) I shall send into these parts as large a force as can possibly be spared, under the command of Colonel Forde. If the country be only thrown into such confusion as to prevent our enemies collecting the revenue, the expense and design of the expedition will be answered.

"I have wrote long letters both to Mr. Pocock and Mr. Pigot to enforce vigorous measures. To the former, I have proposed the destruction of the French squadron, even if they should be lying under the walls of Pondicherry."

This letter, probably from the delay of the vessel^[35] by which it was to be forwarded, appears not to have been despatched for twelve days after it was written; and there is a postscript of the 26th of August added to it, which is peculiarly illustrative of the uncompromising character of Clive's mind on those points that related to the duty which he conceived every individual in the public service owed to the state. Mr. Orme was his most intimate friend, and, from what he knew him to have already written, Clive must have viewed him as the person to whose pen he was to be indebted for his fame with posterity. That he did so, is proved, indeed, by a letter to Mr. Orme^[36] immediately after the enthronement of Meer Jaffier; in which we find the following paragraph:

"I am possessed of volumes of materials for the continuance of your History, in which will appear fighting, tricks, chicanery, intrigues, politics, and the Lord knows what;—in short, there will be a fine field for you to display your genius in. I shall certainly call at the coast on my way to England: I have many particulars to explain to you relating to this said History which must be published." Neither the ties of friendship, however, nor the expectations of increased

fame from the partial pen of the historian, had sufficient influence to restrain his free and severe opinion of one of the Council at Madras quitting his post at such a moment.

"I have learned," Clive states in the postscript, "with great surprise, from yourself, of your resolution of going home. I suppose it is never to return. Your leaving the settlement at this juncture of time, when the service of every individual is wanted, will justly expose you to the censure and resentment of the Court of Directors."^[37]

During these operations on shore, Sir George Pocock had made several efforts to bring the French fleet to a decisive action; but their superior sailing, the bad condition of several of the English ships, and on one occasion the conduct of some of his captains, had always enabled them to escape. Clive warmly sympathised with his gallant friend, in his feelings upon these fruitless attempts against the enemy: at the same time he could not refrain from associating in infamy and disgrace those who had not supported the Admiral, with those who had surrendered Fort St. David.

"You may be assured," Clive writes^[38], "I felt much for you, when I heard of the unequal fight between the two squadrons, for want of your not being better supported by two or three of His Majesty's ships. The unthinking world, who never bestow applause but where there is success, would have been ready enough to have laid the censure at your door, if you had not called the authors of the late miscarriage to a public account. It is really a cruel case, after the eminent examples of bravery and conduct shown by you personally, that a certain victory should be snatched out of your hands by the misbehaviour of others. May infamy and disgrace attend all those who are backward in their country's cause; and may the worst of punishment attend those who so shamefully gave up Saint David's to the French! I cannot think of that transaction with common patience; every reflection about it pains me to the very soul; and the more I inquire into facts, the more reason I have to lament the lost reputation of the English on the coast of Coromandel. I do not mean

that St. David's would not have been taken at last; but it certainly might have been made to cost M. Lally so dear, as to have rendered his future attempts much more uncertain and precarious."

Lally found among the prisoners at Fort St. David a pretender^[39] to the throne of Tanjore; and, by threatening to support this man's claims, he expected to obtain, through the fears of the Prince of that country, a supply of treasure, of which he was in great want. To enforce compliance with the large demand he made as the price of his forbearance, he moved towards Tanjore. His march was the cause of equal distress to his own troops, and to the natives of the country through which he passed. The latter, alarmed by his indiscriminate violence and the licence he admitted, particularly in seizing their cattle, fled the country; and we may judge how general the desertion of their homes must have been, when we are informed that the French army was almost starving in the midst of plenty; for, while it found great stores of paddy, which is the name given to rice before the grain is separated from the husk, there were literally no persons to beat it out, as it requires before it can be used as food. The troops had neither tents nor baggage; for, in the common alarm at the violent measures of the French General, not even bullock drivers could be persuaded to remain in the camp.

Some days after the arrival of the army at Tanjore, a treaty was concluded, by which the King agreed to pay five lacs of rupees, and to furnish some aid in Lally's intended attack of Trichinopoly. Fifty thousand rupees of this amount were paid, and hostages interchanged for the fulfilment of the engagement; but recurring points of irritation soon broke this agreement. Lally charged the King with insincerity, and with having no design but to gain time; while the other accused the French General of many outrages, and particularly of having confined, on groundless suspicion, forty of the contingent of horse with which he had furnished him. Lally, seeing no prospect of an amicable termination to these disputes and recriminations, determined, with the advice of his officers, to attack the town; and he not only sent to the King to denounce vengeance upon his city and dominions, but expressly directed Colonel

Kennedy^[40], through whom this threat was conveyed, to state, that it was the French General's intention to carry the Prince and all his family as slaves to the Mauritius.

The counsels of the King of Tanjore had hitherto been fluctuating; they were decided, however, by Lally's conduct, and every preparation was made for defence. Captain Caillaud, who commanded in Trichinopoly, had before sent five hundred sepoys; and, being now convinced of the King's intention to oppose the French, sent a reinforcement of an equal number, with a small party of gunners. The day of their arrival, Lally had determined to retreat^[41]; to which he was induced from want of ammunition, distress for provisions, and alarm at the British fleet, which was reported to be off Karical, a sea-port in the vicinity.

The Tanjore General Monack-jee, on receiving certain information of the intended movement of the French, determined upon attacking them. He made some impression from coming upon the camp by surprise^[42], but was compelled to retire: when, however, the army marched towards the Carnatic, his harassing operations aggravated what they suffered from fatigue and want of food; and we learn from authentic sources^[43], that the whole of the French force was obliged to live for several days upon gram^[44] and cocoa-nuts.

The natural violence and acrimony of Lally's disposition were greatly increased by the bad success of this expedition. Instead of attributing its failure to the real causes, his own want of local knowledge, his obstinacy and presumption, he imputed it, and the privations the troops had suffered, to the corrupt practices of the Company's servants, to the general laxity of discipline and subordination in all departments of their government, and to the dread which M. D'Aché and his squadron appeared to have of the British fleet. These violent attacks produced abuse and recrimination, and nothing could exceed the discord and faction which at this period pervaded the settlement of Pondicherry.

Lally, after his return from Tanjore, found no difficulty in occupying almost all the towns in the Carnatic, and, amongst others, Arcot, the

capital of the Nabob. Chingliput was the only place which the English preserved; but, its consequence being fully appreciated, every measure was adopted to strengthen its garrison and improve its defences. The government of Madras were not induced by Clive's advice to try their fortune in the field. They reserved their force unbroken for the defence of Fort St. George, the siege of which it was evidently Lally's intention to undertake, as soon as the season^[45] permitted him to move. In deliberating on the course they ought to pursue, they possessed more correct information than Clive had procured regarding the actual composition of Lally's force; from which it appeared, that though some of his soldiers were of an indifferent description, others were of the French line, and belonged to corps of high reputation. He had besides, well equipped and well mounted, a body of three hundred European cavalry, who, being the first of this branch seen in India, were likely, added to his superior numbers of infantry, to give him a great advantage in an action in the field; whereas they could be of comparatively little benefit in a siege.

Governed by these considerations, they determined to await, within the walls of Madras, the approach of the French army. The siege which took place has been minutely described by a cotemporary historian.^[46] It continued for two months, the French having taken up their ground on the 14th of December, 1758, and retreated on the 15th of February, 1759.

The enemy's force consisted of two thousand seven hundred European infantry, besides their cavalry, artillery, and sepoys. The garrison was not more than a third inferior in number; and when, to that circumstance, was joined the established character of the Governor, Mr. Pigot, and of Colonel Lawrence, the commander of the troops, who was aided by some of the most distinguished officers in India, there appeared, from the first, but little doubt of the result. The most remarkable event of the siege was a sally, soon after the enemy took up their ground, by Colonel Draper; which, though not altogether successful, was attended with a great loss to the French as well as to the English: and Lally had to regret, which he did

deeply, the loss of two of his best officers, Major-General Saubinet and Count D'Estaing, the former of whom was killed and the latter taken prisoner.

During the siege a corps of observation was kept by the French, under the partisan Lambert; but this did not prevent their receiving almost as much annoyance from the activity of the English parties without the walls, as from the courage of those within. Two small corps, sometimes acting separately, but oftener co-operating, hung continually upon the outskirts of their camp, attacking and intercepting their supplies. One of these, which had come from the southern territories, was commanded by the celebrated Mahommed Esoof; the other by Captain Preston^[47]: but Captain Caillaud, who had been summoned from Trichinopoly, took the command of both, and by his operations greatly increased the distresses of the enemy.

While Madras was well stored with provisions, and had abundance of money supplied from Bengal^[48], the treasury of Pondicherry was completely exhausted, and the conduct of Lally had destroyed credit. The violent and irregular means adopted, to anticipate the revenues of the country, had left the districts which the French occupied without the means of furnishing either the money or the supplies that were necessary for the subsistence of the troops. Notwithstanding the privations to which they were subjected, the French European soldiers performed their arduous duty with spirit and alacrity; and Lally fully appreciated their merits. With the natives, however, his contempt and severity produced their natural effects: they were loud in their clamours for pay, and, actuated by discontent and resentment, deserted in bodies, and began to plunder the country, under the pretext of obtaining payment of their arrears.

These circumstances, and the despair of success,—for he had made little or no serious progress in the siege^[49],—made Lally resolve upon retreat; and that measure was almost converted into a flight by the arrival of six ships with the reinforcements from Bombay. Not only his battering train and camp equipage were left,

but the sick and wounded. The latter he recommended to the care and humanity of the government of Fort St. George, from whom they received as much kindness and attention as if they had belonged to the garrison.

Lally, before he left Madras, blew up the bastion and powder mill at Egmore, and destroyed the Governor's garden-house, and many private buildings. He had threatened to reduce the Black-Town of Madras to ashes; and nothing, probably, prevented this threat from being put into execution but the hurry of his retreat. This may be inferred from the numerous instances of wanton severity he showed in the prosecution of hostilities against the English. Among other acts, the seizure of the persons of some ladies^[50] at Nagapatam, and their harsh treatment, was one of the least pardonable, as alike contrary to the usage of civilised nations, and the boasted habits and character of his country. The proceeding, as will be hereafter stated, forced the English to measures of retaliation.

Clive had, from the moment he heard of Lally's intention to attack Madras, anticipated his complete failure: he dreaded nothing but the arrival of more troops from France, and the want of support from England; but his alarm on these grounds was considerable, as we find from a letter which he wrote to Mr. Pitt, (under date the 21st of February, 1759,) informing him that accounts had been received of the arrival at Mauritius of a third armament from France, and of the expectation of a fourth.

"I presume," Clive observes, "it must have been in consequence of this intelligence, that M. Lally took post before Madras, as I cannot think he would have been so imprudent as to come there with a force not double that of the garrison, were he not in expectation of a reinforcement. Should that arrive upon the coast before our squadron from Bombay, or should the enemy's fleet, by the addition of this third division, prove unfortunately superior to ours, the event is to be feared. Much, very much indeed,—perhaps the fate of India,—now depends upon our squadron. Should it miscarry, our land forces, without some extraordinary occurrence, will be in danger of

being obliged to yield to the great superiority of the enemy. Advice has been just received, that the French were still carrying on the siege of Madras on the 25th of January. They had been before it upwards of six weeks; but I have so high an opinion of the gentlemen within, that I dare answer they will make such a defence as will do honour to our nation, and end in M. Lally's disgrace."

"The repeated supplies," Clive adds, "furnished the French from home, compared with the handful of men sent out to us, affords a melancholy proof, that our Company are not, of themselves, able to take the proper measures for the security of their settlements; and, unless they are assisted by the nation, they must at last fall a sacrifice to the superior efforts of the French Company, supported by their monarch. Within these eighteen months, have arrived at Pondicherry two thousand five hundred men, and the third division will probably bring half that number; whereas, we shall not have received, including Colonel Draper's battalion, more than one thousand. It looks as if the French Government were turning their arms this way, in hopes of an equivalent for the losses they have reason to apprehend in America, from the formidable force sent by us into that country. But I cannot bring myself to believe that so valuable a possession as the East Indies, and which may make a material difference in bringing about a peace, will be abandoned; and therefore trust that the French armament will have been followed so closely by one from us, as to get in time to prevent the designs of our enemies.

"A son of the Great Mogul (but at present at variance with his father) has approached the northern frontiers, where he has been joined by a few disaffected people. As he has no authority from his father, he can neither, I think, have wealth nor influence enough to make any considerable progress. However, I have got every thing ready, and, in case he advances further, I have determined to proceed myself to the northward, in order to assist the Nabob in driving him out of his dominions, which I make no doubt will be easily effected, even with the small force we have. Would to God we could as easily remove our European enemies from India!"

In a letter to Mr. Sullivan^[51], of the same date^[52], Clive anticipates the result of Lally's operations.

"To give you my own opinion," he observes, "I think Lally will fail in his attempt, so great is my confidence in the strength of the garrison, and the experience and valour of the officers. The arrival of Captain Caillaud with the sepoy and Tanjoreen horse, will distress our enemies greatly, if not oblige them to raise the siege; and if they continue till the arrival of our reinforcements, daily expected from Bombay, they run the risk of a total defeat. I can no otherwise account for this undertaking of the French general, than from his distressed situation for want of money. He is really risking the whole for the whole."

Clive had from youth been engaged in efforts to prevent the establishment of the French power in India, and his mind was constantly and intently fixed on that object. He viewed the period of which we are writing as a crisis: but he had no doubt of the result, except from overpowering reinforcements arriving from France, and the English settlement being left unsupported. From the moment he learned Lally's proceedings on his march to Fort St. David and Tanjore, he foretold, that if our resistance was protracted, that general must destroy himself. In a private letter^[53] to Mr. Pigot, he recommends him to employ native horse^[54] in laying waste the French territories. "By ruining the country," he observes, "you will infallibly ruin M. Lally. Remember, that he and his forces were obliged to eat gram before Tanjore. May he be reduced to the same necessity in Pondicherry itself!"

Clive's letter to Colonel Lawrence, of the same date, exhibits, in an equally strong manner, his sentiments upon this subject, as well as the affectionate respect he continued to cherish for his friend and commander. It is as follows:—

"My dear friend,

"I have heard with some surprise, that M. Lally has set himself down before Madras, not with an intent, I believe, to

besiege it in form, or carry on approaches; if he does, I think he must be either mad, or his situation desperate; at all events, I hope it will be the means of adding fresh laurels to those already gained by my dear friend.

"Colonel Forde has orders to join you with his forces; and we are endeavouring to send you a complete company of one hundred rank and file from hence. In short, we have put every thing to risk here to enable you to engage Lally in the field. I hope Mr. Bouchier will spare you some men from Bombay. I enclose you a short sketch of our strength in these parts; and, considering how much depends upon keeping up our influence in Bengal, you will say there never was a smaller force to do it with.

"God give you success, which will be an increase of honour to yourself, and of much joy to

"Dear Colonel,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

(Signed) "ROBERT CLIVE."

State of the European Force in Bengal, 6th Feb. 1759.

Doing duty.	Military	Artillery
Captains.	6	1
Lieuts.	6	8
Ensigns.	9	0
Serjeants.	36	
Corporals.	29	5
Drummers.	20	2
Privates.	314*	86

* Whereof 140 are
recruits.

The delight of Clive at the result of the siege was very great: it was heightened by his warm feelings of friendship towards those who had so nobly supported the reputation of the service of Fort St. George, to which he had a pride in belonging. He congratulates Mr. Pigot^[55] on the fame he had acquired; but his greatest joy, as he repeatedly expresses, was, that his venerated friend, Colonel Lawrence, should so brilliantly close his Indian career.

The events upon the coast subsequent to the siege of Madras do not relate to our subject. Suffice it to say, that, after some indecisive operations in 1759, Lally, next year, suffered a signal defeat at Wandewash, from an English army under the command of Colonel Coote. He was soon after compelled to shut himself up with the remains of his army in Pondicherry, which was immediately invested by the English. Before this period, the increased irritability of his temper had led to discontent in the local government, and among the inhabitants of that settlement, almost amounting to sedition. The troops had been in a state of serious mutiny from want of pay. They nevertheless did their duty upon this occasion; but Lally had neither money nor provisions, and was forced to surrender.^[56] This unfortunate commander left Pondicherry amid the insults of his countrymen; and on his return to France, he was tried, condemned to death, and executed for crimes^[57] of which he was not guilty: for though his prejudice, violence, and tyranny, had no doubt been one cause of the misfortunes of his country in India, his courage, his zeal, and his loyalty were unimpeachable. But the voice of his enemies was loud and vehement, and the ministers of France were glad to save themselves from the disgrace brought upon the country by their own want of foresight and judgment. The Count Lally was the victim they offered to an incensed public. The principles of justice and the feelings of humanity appear to have been alike violated by this act, which a philosopher^[58] of France truly denominated, at the period of its perpetration, "A murder committed with the sword of justice."

Bussy, with a zeal and temper that do him equal honour, continued to serve under Lally, and to offer his best advice, which

was, however, seldom regarded. Basâlut Jung, the brother of the Subah of the Deckan, had evinced an anxiety to preserve the friendship of the French; and Bussy strongly recommended that he should be declared Nabob of the Carnatic, and invited to aid their operations. No measure could have been more likely to support them. But Lally had precipitately proclaimed the son of Chunda Sahib Nabob: a person who had neither influence nor character to be a useful ally; and he was not only reluctant to repeal his own measure, but disinclined to attend to any proposition of Bussy. Overcome, however, by a sense of the urgent necessity of the expedient, he detached that officer with a small body of troops to the camp of Basâlut Jung at Kurpah. The French commander was received with honour; but not being able to comply with the demands made by Basâlut Jung, one of which was the immediate advance of four lacs of rupees, he was compelled to return without being able to conclude an alliance with that prince. He brought back with him, however, a body of four hundred excellent horse, whom he had taken into service; and he was enabled, through the credit he had with some of the native chiefs of the Deckan army, not only to supply this party with money, but also the French detachment by whom he was accompanied, who, like all Lally's troops, were many months in arrear, and almost destitute of clothing, as well as the means of obtaining food.

Bussy was made prisoner at the battle of Wandewash, (January, 1760,) but was instantly released by Colonel Coote, from respect for his character, and as a return for that kindness and consideration which he had invariably shown to English prisoners.^[59] Soon after this occurrence, he returned to France, leaving behind him a name as fondly cherished by the natives of India as by his countrymen. That further acquaintance with the true history of remarkable events, which often diminishes the fame of military commanders and statesmen, has hitherto tended only to increase the reputation of Bussy. His courage and conduct as a soldier stood high, before the genius of Dupleix, appreciating his character, sent him into the Deckan.

Acting in that extensive country with a force, which, before he obtained the cession of the northern circars, had only an uncertain and imperfect communication with the coast, he supported, for a series of years, the influence and interests of his country, in a manner which reflects the highest honour on his qualities as a man, and on his talents as a statesman. He thoroughly understood and held in respect the usages of the people among whom he was placed. He united a kindness and consideration for their errors and weaknesses with such a good faith and firmness of purpose in the prosecution of his own objects, as to extort respect even from those to whom he was opposed. This testimony to his character is not wholly taken from the page of history, though all writers agree in doing justice to his memory. The facts stated have been confirmed to the writer of these pages, by many who acted with and against Bussy, whose reputation, though now deservedly high in France, is not, even at this period, so great in that country as it continues to be with natives of the Deckan!

Clive, unless where their conduct compelled him to acts of severity, was kind and liberal in his treatment of French prisoners. This appears from a very voluminous correspondence^[60], both official and private, with individuals of that nation; but the wanton outrages of Lally made him deem acts of retaliation indispensably necessary.

In several of his letters from Patna, Clive urged the committee at Calcutta to destroy the buildings at Chandernagore, and transmitted to them letters from Mr. Pigot and Mr. Vansittart, in proof of the wanton outrages committed by Lally at Madras, particularly in levelling with the ground the Company's country-house, and in having, without any object, destroyed the country-houses of several private gentlemen, and among others, that of Colonel Lawrence at St. Thomas's Mount. The Committee could not deny these facts, nor the right of retaliating such injuries; but, hesitating between the desire of attending to Clive, and their alarm at the future consequences of the measure pressed upon their adoption, they proposed to throw the odium of its execution upon the Nabob. Of this Clive wholly disapproved, stating, at the same time, his

resolution, when he returned to Calcutta, to take the responsibility of this act exclusively upon himself.

"As to your proposal," he observes in a letter^[61] from Patna, "of effecting it through the Nabob, I do not see what end it will answer. Our known interest with him is such, that it will never be questioned we were the advisers; and should an opportunity of retaliation ever offer, (the apprehension of which I presume suggested the proposal to you,) it will avail us little to attribute the fate of Chandernagore to the Nabob. If the French should hereafter have it in their power to destroy Calcutta, it will be matter of small moment whether they do it immediately themselves, or make use of a like evasion, and employ some of the country powers to effect it. So far from endeavouring to conceal our being the authors of the destruction of Chandernagore, we ought to make a merit of publishing it, as a laudable national revenge for the unfortunate treatment we have received from the French. The rules of war established among all civilised nations authorise and applaud reprisals in such cases. I shall, therefore, very readily on my return take the risk upon myself: and the more so, as (if I forget not) last year we received directions from our masters^[62] to that purpose."

I shall proceed in the next chapter to detail events which occurred previously to Clive's leaving Calcutta. The material changes in those vested with authority at Madras took place before that period, except the resignation of Colonel Lawrence, who took the field on the siege of Fort St. George being raised, but finding that his age and infirmities disabled him from active service, retired to his native land, to enjoy that repose in private life, which he now required, and to which he was entitled by the active and able fulfilment, during more than twenty years, of the most arduous public duties.

Colonel Lawrence must ever stand high among those officers who have distinguished themselves in India. He neither was, nor pretended to be, a statesman, but he was an excellent officer. He possessed no dazzling qualities, and his acts never displayed that brilliancy which men admire as the accompaniment of genius; but he

was, nevertheless, a rare and remarkable man. We trace in all his operations that sound practical knowledge of his profession, which, directed by a clear judgment and firm mind, secured to him an uninterrupted career of success, under circumstances of great difficulty and danger. As one of the chief causes of this success, we may notice the absence of that common but petty jealousy, which renders men afraid lest they should detract from their own fame by advancing that of others, and the influence of which is, consequently, most fatal to the rise of merit. Lawrence early discovered, and fully employed, the talents of those under his orders; and we find him on all occasions much more forward to proclaim their deeds than to blazon his own. To this quality, which is the truest test of a high and liberal spirit, England is principally indebted for all the benefit she has received from the services of Clive. It was the fostering care and the inspiring confidence of his commander that led to the early developement of those talents, which, by the opportunities afforded him, were matured at an age, when most men are only in the rudiments of their military education. Clive continued, through life, fully sensible of the magnitude of his obligations to Lawrence, towards whom he ever cherished the most affectionate gratitude.

When his venerated commander was on the point of retirement, with a very moderate fortune, Clive settled 500*l.* per annum on him during life.^[63] "It gives me great pleasure," he observes to Lawrence on this occasion, "that I have an opportunity given me of showing my gratitude to the man to whom my reputation, and, of course, my fortune is owing." This liberal annuity must have added to the comfort of his old age; but its value was greatly enhanced by the warmth and delicacy of the sentiments which Clive expressed upon this occasion. These expressions of grateful obligation gave the retired veteran a right to associate his own fame with that of the successful pupil to whose progress to fortune and renown he had, by his early notice and encouragement, so greatly contributed.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 9

[1.](#) Vide Vol. I. p. 183.

[2.](#) The particulars of the storm of Boobilee are narrated, by Orme (vol. ii. p. 254.), with the clearness and a feeling which do honoured to that historian. Such scenes as are here described are but too common in the history of India; where Hindus, of a high tribe, often take the heroic, but barbarous, resolution of not leaving a living being for their enemies to triumph over.

[3.](#) The other two remained concealed; but they were bound, by a vow, to murder Vizeram Raz if the first attempt failed.

[4.](#) Rangarow, and his tribe, considered themselves of much higher race than the Rajahs of Vizianagur; and their contempt of his family was one cause of the inveteracy of Vizeram Raz.

[5.](#) "Bussy promised the English their property; and all they claimed as such was resigned to them, without question or discussion."—Orme, vol. ii. p. 263.

[6.](#) The father of Hyder Jung was governor of Masulipatam when Dupleix made himself master of that important fortress, and is believed to have betrayed his trust.

[7.](#) The small fortress of Dowlatabad stands at the distance of eight miles to the north-west of Aurungabad. It is defended by walls and bastions: but what renders it impregnable is the solid rock being scarped perpendicular all round; and in no place is the scarp less than one hundred and eighty feet. The entrance is by a long tunnel, in which there are several traverses cut out of the rock. Shahnavaze Khan had obtained possession of this

fortress. The manner in which it was seized by Bussy is minutely described by Orme, vol. ii. p. 345. Bussy himself, attended by a number of officers and three hundred men, went on the pretext of seeing the fort and paying a visit to the Killadar (or Governor); and when the garrison were so stationed by the Killadar, through respect for their guest, that they could make no resistance, he was made a willing prisoner by the French general, and such of his followers as made opposition expelled from the fort.

8. The rapidity of his flight was great: he is said to have reached Burhampore in twenty-four hours. The distance is one hundred and fifty miles.

9. A correspondence, between this petty prince and Clive, was opened through the medium of an English merchant named Bristow.

10. Clive's answer to Nizam Ali Khan is dated 27th July, 1758.

11. 17th September, 1758.

12. 7th July, and 17th September.

13. Clive appears to have despatched treasure for this corps the moment he learned that none was likely to be recovered either from Anunderauze or the revenues of the country: but the activity of the French corps of observation prevented, for some period, Colonel Forde from receiving the benefit of this supply.

14. Native Christians, generally the descendants of Portuguese and Indian parents; called Topasses, from their wearing hats (topees) like Europeans, instead of turbans.

15. The killed and wounded were nearly one third of the whole; so that the assailants, probably, hardly exceeded nine

hundred, while the prisoners were three thousand and thirty-seven. Arunderauze, with his irregular native forces, was, indeed, at hand.

[16.](#) The troops in the ravelin, beyond the main gate, were kept at their post by alarm at the false attack of the Rajah's troops, till the assailants, who entered at the breach, shut the gate on them.

[17.](#) Orme, vol. iii. p. 489.

[18.](#) Letter received at Calcutta, 17th July, 1759.

[19.](#) Mr. Call, the chief engineer at Madras, writing to Clive, under date the 11th October, 1758, observes, "I cannot but say you have added much to your reputation by the detachment (Colonel Forde's) which you have sent to our assistance on the coast. No sooner were your apprehensions for the safety of Bengal somewhat lessened, than you determined to support us."

[20.](#) Including prisoners, and the corps under Moracin, at least one thousand Europeans, and nearly three thousand native troops, were subtracted from Lally's force by the effects of Colonel Forde's success.

[21.](#) 26th August.

[22.](#) Captain Caillaud suffered two repulses before he succeeded in his attack on Madura.

[23.](#) This party was commanded by Colonel Forde, then belonging to Adlercron's regiment. The circumstances attending the repulse were such as reflected no imputation on his character.

[24.](#) Neazballa.

[25.](#) Nazir Mahommed held Chittaput, and a small surrounding district, by a sunnud, or grant, from the Subadar of the Deckan.

[26.](#) Mahommed Esoof was best known, in the early part of his career, by the name of "the Nellore Commandant."

[27.](#) Vide Vol. I. p. 402.

[28.](#) The six colonels who signed this memorial were, D'Estaing, De Landivisan, De la Fuère, Breteuil, Verdière, and Crillon. Their names merit to be recorded. They belonged to the noblest families of their country; and this act shows their patriotic feeling to have been as honourable as their birth.

[29.](#) 1st September, 1758.

[30.](#) Letter to Mr. Pigot, 14th August.

[31.](#) Ibid.

[32.](#) 14th August.

[33.](#) Nazir Mahommed. I have before adverted to his gallant conduct: vide p. 26.

[34.](#) Colonel Lawrence.

[35.](#) Almost all communications between Madras and Bengal, at this period, were by sea, which often occasioned a considerable interval between the writing and despatch of a letter.

[36.](#) 21st August, 1759.

[37.](#) Mr. Orme appears to have embarked for England about six months after the date of this letter, but was obliged to leave the ship at the Cape, being unable, from serious indisposition,

to proceed further until his strength was recruited.—(Letters from Mr. Vansittart to Clive, 28th June, and 3d July, 1759.)

[38](#). Letter to Sir G. Pocock, 14th August, 1759. A postscript is added to this letter, of the 26th August; the same date as that to Mr. Orme.

[39](#). This man's name was Gotica; he was uncle to the deposed King of Tanjore, whom the English had supported in 1749.

[40](#). Col. Kennedy was one of the hostages sent to Tanjore.

[41](#). A breach had been made, but it was not deemed practicable. Two of the principal French officers, General Saubinet and Count D'Estaing, strongly advised a storm; deeming the breach, though imperfect, to be assailable.

[42](#). A considerable body, cavalry and infantry, of Tanjore troops, with fifty Europeans, and one thousand English sepoys, were engaged in this attack; which is chiefly remarkable for the attempt made upon the person of the French General. A body of fifty horsemen advanced, at daylight, to the French outposts: they inquired for Lally, saying they wished to take service. They were conducted to the General, who, being informed of their request, came out from a choultry to speak to them: at this moment one of the Tanjore horsemen, supposed to be intoxicated, fired his pistol into a tumbril, which, by its explosion, gave a general alarm. The leader of the party, observing this, rode at Lally, who, however, defended himself with a stick, and the man was shot by an attendant, while the French guard succeeded in repelling a charge made by his comrades.

[43](#). Orme's History, and Clive's MSS.

[44](#). A species of pulse upon which horses are fed in India.

[45](#). The north-east monsoon commences, on the coast of Coromandel, in the end of October; and military operations are difficult, and in some parts almost impracticable, till towards the end of November.

[46](#). Orme, vol. iii. p. 385.

[47](#). Captain Preston's corps was from the garrison of Chingliput.

[48](#). Orme, vol. iii. p. 453.

[49](#). Mr. Vansittart, a member of the Council at Fort St. George, in a private letter to Clive, dated 2d March, 1759, gives a general account of Lally's operations, from which the following is an extract:—

"I am very glad," he observes, "to begin with acquainting you that the siege of Madras is raised. Certainly it was an undertaking too great for M. Lally's force, and it was undoubtedly a want of men that obliged him to confine his approaches to so narrow a front. I will send you a plan of them as soon as I can find one of our engineers at leisure. The trenches are the weakest that ever were seen, and yet they pushed them up close under our nose. Three or four times small detachments sallied, and took possession of the head of their sap almost without resistance. Our people retired after destroying a little of the work, and then the enemy returned and worked on. Their grand battery, the first that they opened, tore our works a good deal, but our men were active, and got them repaired in the night. This continued for a few days, but our fire was not decreased. The enemy then lost all patience, and advanced with all our defences in good order; when they got to the foot of the glacis, they erected a battery against the east face of the north ravelin, but they could never stand there for an hour together, as we had a heavy fire both on their flank and

front. In three or four days they abandoned that, but still kept pushing on their sap, and presently got up to the crest of the glacis, where they erected another battery close to the north-east angle of the covered way. This cost them very dear, and they well deserved to suffer; for all our defences were yet perfect, nay, we had more guns than we had at first.

"For six mornings running they opened this battery at daybreak, and were obliged in an hour or two to shut up their embrasures. Their loss there must have been very great; for it was raked from one end to the other by the flank of the royal bastion, had a front fire from the north-east bastion, and was overlooked by the demi-bastion so with musketry, that it was absolutely impossible for a man to live. At the end of six days they gave it up, and at the same time, I believe, gave up all hopes of success. It is true they had opened a narrow passage through the counterscarp of the ditch by a mine, and had beat down so much clay from the face of the demi-bastion, that there was a slope which a nimble man might run up, and that is what M. Lally calls a breach; but his people were wiser than he, if he proposed to assault it, and they refused. That letter of M. Lally's is a most curious piece. I am glad it was intercepted, that he may not say the arrival of the ships obliged him to raise the siege, and that the officers and men of the garrison may have the honour they deserve. Their duty was really severe, and what was yet worse, they had not a safe place to rest in when off duty; for there is not a bomb-proof lodgement in garrison, except the grand magazine, and the casemates under the Nabob's bastion, where the sick and wounded lay. Nevertheless there was a universal cheerfulness from the beginning to the end; and (what M. Lally so much expected) a capitulation never entered, I believe, into the head of any one man in the garrison.

"The enemy retired by the way of Poonamallee, and, by our last advices, were at Arcot. Our army is just now moving after them. We had a difficulty to get coolies and bullocks for a camp, by which many days have been lost. A large body of Mahrattas are upon the borders of the province: we have made them handsome offers. If they join us, it will be difficult for the French army to get to Pondicherry, or if they only stand neuter, Colonel Lawrence will have no objection to a trial of skill with the Lieutenant-general.

"I should not forget to mention that your old friend the Nellow Subhadar was of great service during the siege. He brought a large body of country horse and sepoys from Tanjore and Trichinopoly; and being joined by Captain Preston with about fifty Europeans from Chingleput, and afterwards by Major Caillaud, they occasioned a powerful diversion. The French were obliged four times to send out considerable detachments; but our people always kept their post, till a scarcity of provisions forced them to move further off. The enemy, however, lost many men in these different actions, besides the hinderance it gave to their work."

[50](#). Mr. Vansittart, in his letter to Clive of the 2d March, 1759 (quoted in the last note), observes, "I believe I shall be obliged to apply to you to lay hands upon some of the Chandernagore ladies, in order to exchange against Mrs. Morse, Mrs. Vansittart, and some others, whom we sent away in a boat for Sadras, just at the time that M. Lally borrowed that settlement from the Dutch. They were received by the French officer, and told they were prisoners. They have been kept there ever since; and two days after the siege was raised I wrote to M. Lally, desiring he would let me know his resolutions concerning my family: he sent back the peon without an answer; nor have I got one yet. All this I could excuse if they had but been treated with

politeness; but it has been far otherwise, as you will see by a letter I lately received from Mrs. Vansittart, and which I send enclosed. I beg you will let Carnac explain it to the French ladies at Bengal, that they may see, with thankfulness, the different usage they have met with."

[51](#). Mr. Sullivan was Chairman of the Court of Directors.

[52](#). 21st February, 1759.

[53](#). 6th September, 1759.

[54](#). This advice, as appears from Mr. Vansittart's letter, (note, p. 50.) was adopted.

[55](#). "Your defence of Madras," Clive observes, in a letter to Mr. Pigot of the 21st August, 1759, "and your foiling a man of Lally's rank, will certainly gain you much honour at home; but what affords me most pleasure is, the principal part you have acted in this famous siege. I always said my friend would shine whenever an opportunity offered, by what I saw of his behaviour, some years ago, near Verdiachelum woods."

[56](#). Pondicherry surrendered to Colonel Coote in January, 1761. It had been blockaded four months before the active operations of the siege, and there were only two days' provisions for the fighting men when it surrendered. The gallant regiments of Lorraine and Lally were reduced to a small number, and these worn out with famine, disease, and fatigue. —(Orme, vol. iii. p. 722.)

[57](#). Mr. Orme justly remarks, that "if abuse of authority, vexations, and exactions, are not capital in the jurisprudence of France, they ought not to have been inserted, as efficacious, in the sentence of death." The same author informs us that Lally was charged with treason, which deprived him of the aid of counsel. Among other crimes, this unhappy commander was

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